THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

GERMANY:

Its Education and Re-education

A Radio Discussion by * E. Y. HARTSHORNE
RICHARD MCKEON *and* DANIEL PRESCOTT

FEB 26
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

468TH BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH
THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

NUMBER 256 * * FEBRUARY 14, 1943

Around the Round Table . . . .

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RICHARD P. MCKEON, professor of Greek and philosophy at the University of Chicago, is also dean of the Division of Humanities at the University. Dean McKeon received his A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University, and he also studied for three years at the University of Paris and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in France. Besides the University of Chicago, he has also taught philosophy and Greek and Latin at Columbia University. He is the author of *The Philosophy of Spinoza* (1928); *Studies in the History of Ideas*, Vol. III (co-author) (1935). He is also the editor and translator of *Selections from Mediaeval Philosophers*, Vol. I: *Augustine to Albert the Great* (1929); Vol. II: *Roger Bacon to William of Ockham* (1930); and *The Basic Work of Aristotle* (1941). He is member of the board of editors of *Classical Philology* and the *Journal of the History of Ideas* and a contributor to numerous other journals and publications.

DANIEL A. PRESCOTT, professor of education at the University of Chicago, is also head of the Child Development and Teacher Personnel Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council of Education. Mr. Prescott did his undergraduate work at Tufts College and received his Master of Education degree and his doctorate of education from Harvard University. He taught at La Grange College, Harvard University, and Rutgers University before coming to the University of Chicago. In 1926–27 he did research in Europe for Harvard University and, during the following year, lectured at the Institut J. J. Rousseau at Geneva, Switzerland. He has done research for the General Board of Education of New York and is an active member of the American Council of Education. He is a regular contributor to educational journals and is the author of *The Determination of Anatomical Age in School Children* (1923); *Le Vocabulaire des enfants et les livres de lecture* (1928); *Education and International Relations* (1930); *The Training of Teachers* (1933); and *Emotion and the Educative Process* (1936).

GERMANY:

Its Education and Re-education

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. . . . *A special problem that will face the United Nations immediately upon the attainment of victory over either Germany or Japan will be what to do with the defeated nation. Revenge for the sake of revenge would be a sign of barbarism—but this time we must make absolutely sure that the guilty leaders are punished, that the defeated nation realizes its defeat and is not permitted to rearm. The United Nations must back up military disarmament with psychological disarmament—supervision, or at least inspection, of the school systems of Germany and Japan, to undo so far as possible the diabolical work of Hitler and the Japanese war lords in poisoning the minds of the young.*—VICE-PRESIDENT HENRY A. WALLACE in a speech delivered December 28, 1942, on the anniversary of the eighty-sixth birthday of Woodrow Wilson.

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MR. MCKEON: Mr. Wallace's statement of our responsibilities to Germany after the war is both timely and important. It involves, however, two words which are subject to misinterpretation. He says that we must undertake the supervision, or at least inspection, of the school systems of Germany. That seems to me to be subject to rather serious debate and ambiguity.

MR. PRESCOTT: We don't have many choices. There'll be about eighty million Germans left at the end of the war. We might consider shooting them all, or making them slaves, or, thirdly, we might

consider learning to live with them and training them to live with us.

MR. HARTSHORNE: After all, the third possibility there is the only one that is open to us as proponents of the democratic philosophy of life and government.

Furthermore, this is the tenth anniversary of the coming to power of the Nazi regime. Don't you think it's about time that we arrived at some solution of what to do with Germany after this regime is defeated?

MR. MCKEON: I think that we have seen enough of what the Nazis can do with education to consider the problem of education. But how will we supervise education? How will we inspect it? Will we put a sergeant in the schools or in each one of the classrooms? Will the occupying army tell the teachers what they should teach?

MR. PRESCOTT: Certainly if we undertake to dictate each word that shall be said in the classroom, we'll have to remember that the children in the classroom, from their teachers, from their elders, and perhaps even from the soldiers who hold the bayonets, will absorb their attitudes rather than accept the mere words which these people say.

MR. MCKEON: Before we go into the details of the question of Germany and its education, it's well to point out that all three of us are educators and, therefore, that the question might seem to be prejudged. We will think education is important—important

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The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE. *Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; five copies, 25 cents; full-year subscription, 52 issues, two dollars. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.*

enough to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Nazi power by talking about it. We point out the alternatives, but what about the people who would say education isn't important? What about the people who say, even if it is important, that it's none of our business?

MR. HARTSHORNE: Oh, I think that there's a very simple answer to that question. This country is at war with Germany. The men in the fighting forces are making great sacrifices. The home front is beginning to feel the pinch of the war effort. What are we fighting the war for, after all? Do we want to have to do it again twenty years hence?

MR. PRESCOTT: We might make another point, too. The Germans have accomplished a lot of what they have accomplished—that is, the Nazis have—by means of education.

MR. HARTSHORNE: Yes. In the conquered territories that they've taken over, they have done their best to bring the peoples around to their point of view, and with very little effect, I must say. But, after all, their approach is not the same as our approach.

MR. MCKEON: I put it emphatically, then, that we must re-educate, since there is no alternative to re-education. Re-education is part of the military technique and process. But we're talking in terms of "we." Who are "we"? Even if we had agreement within the United States, would the United Nations enter into this process? Are we all agreed that Germany must be re-educated?

MR. PRESCOTT: Not only that, but it is the United Nations who must undertake this re-education and not we as Americans.

MR. MCKEON: This seems to me part of the whole question. We are talking about an educational process in which we must

educate not only Germany but ourselves and our Allies. If we fail on any of those points, we shall not succeed in general.

We have a number of problems to consider, however. It would be well to turn to one of the specific questions.

ANNOUNCER: *Some* ROUND TABLE *listeners ask: "Is this the proper time to discuss the problem of German re-education? Shouldn't the United Nations aim for military victory and not consider German educational reforms?"*

MR. MCKEON: We've already indicated that the educational problem is part of the problem of conquering Germany and one which leads to the immediate victory. But I think that we can reinforce what we have said before by considering the place that education has occupied in the German system itself—the place that it has held in setting up the Nazi regime and also the use that the Nazis make of education in the occupied territories.

Hartshorne, you have studied and written about these aspects of the problem. What is the situation? What is the picture of the Nazi youth? How is he educated?

MR. HARTSHORNE: When the Nazis came to power, Germany was in a state of great disorder, as we all know. There was widespread unemployment; the country had very little prestige abroad and no military power; and the youth of Germany had very little to live for. There were more graduates from universities than there were jobs for.

MR. MCKEON: There was a problem of unemployment, then, and a problem of starvation, of deflation—all these internal problems.

MR. HARTSHORNE: Prescott, you were in Germany in the twen-

ties, studying the educational system there. Don't you agree that the Nazis were able to appeal to German youth by providing them with a national symbolism and a philosophy of life that really meant something to them?

MR. PRESCOTT: That is extremely important psychologically. The Nazi plan of education gave to each youth a feeling of the destiny of his nation and of how great it was and told them that it was to be the dominant nation of the earth. It gave them equally a feeling of their own personal significance in relation to that national destiny and made them feel that the national aim could not be achieved without the help of each one working together.

MR. HARTSHORNE: In some ways, Prescott, you sound like a Nazi advocate. Mustn't we remember all the way through this that the Nazi regime had its own purposes which it did not necessarily reveal to the youth, even though some of their points appealed to them?

MR. MCKEON: Without being a Nazi advocate, I should agree with Prescott. We've got to separate two aspects. To many Germans—possibly to all Germans—the Nazis would have seemed, on utilitarian standards, to have succeeded. They solved an internal problem. They solved an external problem. They lifted a humiliated Germany and they gave jobs to the poor, to the needy, and to those who were out of work. As you say, however, it is also a front for totalitarian ambitions and for totalitarian prospects of advancement in Europe.

MR. HARTSHORNE: After ten years of Nazi education, what do the Germans really have left?

MR. MCKEON: I think that it's well to point out in considering

that question that we're talking about education in the extremely broad sense. We're talking about the control which the totalitarian state has of the press, of the cinema, of ideas in general, of books, of art, of all forms of intellectual expression. Consequently, what we are asking is what happened to the school system as a result of this totalitarian system.

MR. HARTSHORNE: Of course the *Gymnasien*, the schools which taught largely the liberal arts, were to a considerable extent closed up. The term was shortened. Men were taken from the secondary schools and put right into military training. Women were practically excluded from the universities.

MR. MCKEON: You have the figures on that, Hartshorne. What is the present proportion of women in the universities?

MR. HARTSHORNE: Up until the beginning of the war, in September, 1939, only about one student out of every ten in the German universities was a woman.

MR. MCKEON: There's been a progressive control of enrolment. What are the figures that would compare the present situation with that in the Republican Germany?

MR. HARTSHORNE: At least half the students in the universities were eliminated by the time the war began. Furthermore, as soon as the war broke out, all but four of the twenty-one German universities were closed up.[1]

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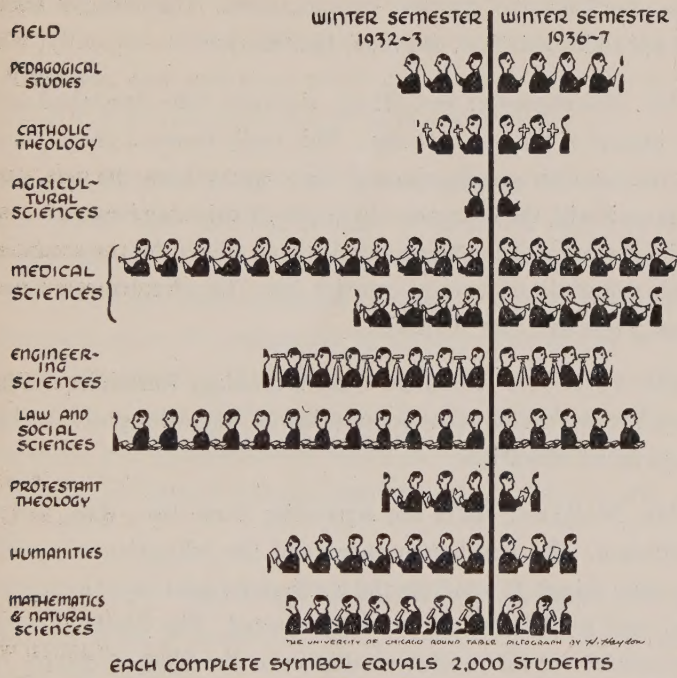
[1] See pictograms on pages 7 and 13. German university total enrolments dropped from 97,576 in 1932 to 51,527 in 1938. For women, during the same period, the number in German universities declined from 18,578 to 6,346 (Franz Neuman, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism* [London: Oxford University Press, 1942]).

STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN GERMANY*



* The total in all fields in 1932–33 was 116,154 students; in 1936–37, 67,082 students (E. Y. Hartshorne, "German Universities and the Government," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1938).

MR. PRESCOTT: They also shortened the term of the universities, cutting it down by at least a third.

MR. HARTSHORNE: Quite right.

MR. MCKEON: There was a decline on what we have learned to call "general education" in the United States. That all but disappeared before the war and is almost completely gone now. Al-

though only four of the German universities continue open, at the same time technological training—training in the mere mechanics of production and of warfare—was increased. The technical schools did not suffer this fate, did they, Hartshorne?

MR. HARTSHORNE: No. They, of course, were developed under the impact of the war economy. This really means a great tragedy for the German people, since, if the country loses the war, as we all hope it will, the Germans will be left by this very impressive educational system of the Nazis very little on which they can build any kind of useful and normal creative life. They've learned how to wage a war and very little else.

MR. PRESCOTT: It was not alone technology which they emphasized but also the physical preparation for war, with great emphasis on physical education.

MR. MCKEON: We're not separating these two, then, are we, gentlemen? The youth movement and the education are part of the same thing? It was from the youth movement that the students who went to higher education were selected. The youth training is compulsory for all youths, so that even the kind of drilling, the little tasks, the party activities, and the need to show enthusiasm and loyalty would permeate the studies. All these would be part of the school child's training.

MR. HARTSHORNE: Yes. A typical Nazi boy at the age of ten not only went to school but he was also a member of the Hitler Youth Organization. He was kept busy in all his free time, learning party tasks. Even as early as fifteen or sixteen, he was given specific premilitary training. We don't often realize that the Hitler youth groups also included naval and aviation units.

Mr. McKeon: This involved the supposition that the youth himself, or the organization, supplied the standards. The judgment of the peers and of the young boys, rather than the values that were embodied in the church, in the family, or in the tradition of the past, decided what education was to be a part of the youth movement. Is this a break, Prescott, or an intensification?

Mr. Prescott: I think that we've made two very important points there: one, that the pattern of education that the Nazi *Kultur* stood for was not only adult-reinforced but also reinforced by the child's peers and by his companions. Secondly, this pattern of education gave the youngsters something to do and something to wear—a pageantry. They had their specific uniforms, and they had socially useful tasks to carry on. But, beyond that, it doesn't seem to me that this pattern of education—of Germany as a dominating nation—from a cultural point of view is a break with the past.

Mr. McKeon: That means that we have a continuation which would largely be in terms of authoritarian standards—the authorities having changed.

Mr. Hartshorne: That term "authoritarian standards" reminds me of an experience I had back in 1932. I was taking a bicycle trip with German and American students in Switzerland, when a shower came up. The American boys, of course, wanted to hurry up and get back to the camp so they wouldn't get wet. The German boys, on the other hand, all stayed behind their leader. I asked one of them why they didn't join with the American boys. He said very simply, "Was der Führer sagt, das muss getan wer-

den." In other words, we do as the leader does. Now these boys, far from being Nazis, were Social Democrats.[2]

MR. MCKEON: This leader principle would be an indication of a tendency to avoid individual responsibility and rather seek the guidance of one leader.

MR. PRESCOTT: The principle of German cultural unity and German cultural dominance goes way back. In 1927, in Berlin, I found documents relating to civic education which indicated very clearly that the Germans thought that their *Kultur* was related to the German blood only and that it would evidently be a dominant *Kultur* on the earth eventually.

MR. MCKEON: These seem to be extremely important reasons for discussing German education now.

ANNOUNCER: *Many* ROUND TABLE *listeners point out that the Nazis have broken from the family, the school, and the church and have endeavored to weld the German people into a nation of conquerors. They ask: "Is it possible ever to re-educate the Germans? Didn't they try democracy after the first World War and fail? What hope is there that the Germans will succeed next time in setting up a democratic education?"*

MR. HARTSHORNE: The real question is whether democracy had a chance in Germany after its defeat in 1918. Let's not forget that the Germans have always claimed that they were not really defeated. They tried to explain the events of 1918 in three ways. They tried to blame the Kaiser. They tried to claim that they were

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[2] The Social Democrats was the German political party which backed the Weimar Republic. They, along with other political parties, were dissolved at the advent of National Socialism.

betrayed by the Fourteen Points, which, in their opinion, were never lived up to. They also claim that they were stabbed in the back. All of this gives more reason to support the Casablanca declaration of unconditional surrender this time, in order that Germany will have a real opportunity on the basis of social security and organized living with employment opportunities to have a chance to develop democracy and education.

Mr. McKeon: That takes care of a large scope of possibilities, Hartshorne. I'd like to apply it to the question of education in particular. Education can succeed only if there are stable social and economic conditions. Secondly, if you have those conditions, education can succeed only if the educational technique and plan is a good one.

I take it that you're saying that education failed in Germany because of the social conditions rather than because the Germans were not democratically inclined or because democratic education was poor.

Mr. Prescott: In thinking of the educational technique and plan, we will have to remember that the Germans will not all be the same at the end of this war and that we shall have to deal with different groups.

Mr. Hartshorne: Yes. There is the army, of course, in which most of the young people will be included. Then there are the party elite groups. There are the different age groups—the older ones who were educated before the Nazis came in and the younger ones who have not yet really been absorbed by the Nazi system. Undoubtedly some of these groups will be very difficult to deal with—such as the Gestapo, if we can find them and detect them beneath the disguises which they will undoubtedly take on.

Mr. McKeon: We shall have a chance, then, with the older people. We shall have difficulty with the elite and the army, and there is some possibility, if our intimation is correct, that the young people under seventeen may have become skeptical concerning the ideals of education.

Mr. Prescott: Of course, when we say "we," we have to raise the question as to whether among the United Nations there will be an agreement on the kind of education. It won't be possible to re-educate the Germans if we cannot agree among ourselves as to what we want them to believe and how we want them to behave.

Mr. McKeon: That's a process of education which is of importance to us as well as to our enemies. I think in general, however, the important distinction that we have made is one that George Santayana has stated excellently: "Everything ideal has a natural basis, and everything natural has an ideal fulfilment." We must separate the material conditions; we must solve the problems involved; then, and only then, can we consider the educational problems.

We have, however, a third set of questions which we ought, at this point, to consider.

Announcer: *Several letters from* Round Table *listeners argue that the Nazi aims are authoritarian, whereas our aims are democratic. Doesn't this conflict mean that a democratic education is doomed to fail in Germany? Are we clear enough about our own aims to plant them successfully in a totalitarian country? What kind of educational program have we to offer?*

Mr. Prescott: If we're trying to plant democratic education in Germany, certainly there are two problems that we'll have to

REDUCTION IN TEACHING STAFFS IN GERMAN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING*

* E. Y. Hartshorne, "German Universities and the Government," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1938.

keep in mind. For instance, there is the soil for receiving this education which in Germany will certainly vary from group to group. The second is the problem of who are the potential leaders and teachers within Germany. There must be some who will be especially good to act as leaders.

Mr. McKeon: I think that it's particularly important to emphasize the fact that there is no such thing as "a German" or "Germany." We're not educating Germany. We might very well take from the book of the Nazis an important directive. If they were going to try to influence us with their propaganda, they would divide us. If we're going to educate the Germans, we must learn how to divide them and find the democrats, or the potential democrats, among them.

Mr. Hartshorne: Yes. How are we to divide Germans? Who among the Germans would you say, Prescott, are the ones we could work with?

Mr. Prescott: I suppose that if we're thinking of democratic education, we would have to look for the Germans who are accustomed to make independent judgments rather than those who have accepted the habit of acting entirely on authority.

Mr. Hartshorne: This principle certainly differs very strikingly from the way the Nazis divide the Germans themselves. Of course, they emphasize the racial distinction, and, furthermore, among the German racial group they have no use for those who do not pledge definite loyalty to the Nazi system.

Mr. McKeon: That would be the kind of division that a Marxist might make—between the proletariat and the capitalist classes if he were to educate a new group. He would seek the proletariat. He would expect sympathy in the proletariat of any nation and expect them to take an active part in the education.

Mr. Hartshorne: I think that there's a tendency for Americans to feel pretty pessimistic about the possibility of working with young Germans. They hear of Nazis who are fanatically loyal

to the *Führer* and wonder what can be done with them. We have one set of factors working in our favor here—namely, the fact that the German army has had to occupy so many different countries of Europe in the last few years that they've had to live with other peoples and they've had to learn, to their own dismay, how much these other peoples dislike them and how difficult it is to get along with other peoples. So that these boys really are open to a good bit of education on this subject.

MR. MCKEON: We've been sailing along without any very definite opposition. I'd like to suggest a point: What about the Germans. Will they take this kind of education? Isn't it probable that they will resent it, refuse it, and, consequently, since they resist it, make it completely ineffective? Prescott, you've studied the psychology of people who are being educated. What do you think?

MR. PRESCOTT: Certainly among the Germans who do not value participation in the making of decisions and who find it much more comfortable just to accept decisions handed down to them, we shall have to find some way of giving them practice in making decisions and of letting them find the pleasure that derives from having some word about one's own destiny.

MR. HARTSHORNE: That stresses one of the most dangerous features of the Nazi system, since it enables individuals to disclaim any responsibility for their actions. I was talking, not many weeks ago, with a former editor of an important German periodical, who told me that the same individuals are now writing and contributing to that periodical who were on it back in 1932. These men probably, when Germany is defeated, will claim that they've really been democrats all the way along.

MR. MCKEON: That underlines what I think is the most im-

portant of our problems—how to tell a democrat. It seems to me highly probable that we shall have no difficulty discovering that there are democrats and democratic tendencies in Germany when the ultimate victory comes. But our real problem will not be in that discovery but rather in uncovering all the disguised democrats—the Fascists and the pro-Fascists, who will then discover it is to their advantage to save their skin and to take on the new coloration.

Mr. Prescott: That certainly implies, at least during the period of military occupation, that we shall have the task of supervising or inspecting, or in some way examining, the persons who are going to be responsible for education.

Mr. Hartshorne: It's a very important lesson for us to take to heart, since there will be a dilemma. On the one hand, the United Nations will want to end the war as speedily as possible; on the other hand, they will want to complete the job of defeating Germany so that the job won't have to be done again twenty years hence.

Mr. McKeon: We've talked about the problem in terms of the human materials in Germany. There is another aspect which is equally important. Who are we to educate the Germans? Have we learned the democratic lesson? Do we know the democratic principles? Are we the ones who might very well bring the message—and I use the word "we" in both its narrow and its broad sense?

Mr. Prescott: That suggests that the problem of re-educating the people of Germany after the armistice will be very largely conditioned by the actions of the people within the United Nations between now and then. Indeed, the re-education of Germany has already begun in terms of the way in which we act toward our Allies.

Mr. Hartshorne: Until Germans are convinced that Americans are ready and determined to fulfil their role in international relations, Germans may still think that they can get away with whatever they want.

Mr. McKeon: In addition, if some of the tendencies that we have already started continue, we might very well lose our intellectual credit. If it seems to the Germans that we're ready to look upon Europe as a mess, in which any element of order—any church, any group of conservative political leaders, any army leader who can bring together some forces—will be taken up as a better alternative to Hitler, then the seriousness of our profession of democratic principles might be doubted.

But let's get down to specific and practical problems. How could we re-educate Germany? What ought we to do? What are our plans?

Mr. Prescott: Since the problem of re-education is one that the United Nations must undertake rather than that of a single nation, there is the question of establishing some sort of an international institute, or office of education.

Mr. McKeon: What would you conceive the duties of that institute to be?

Mr. Prescott: It might involve student exchange; it might involve the exchange of educational technicians and materials; certainly, it would be involved in the problems of adult education.

Mr. Hartshorne: Our own army has been putting out guides for soldiers to help them get along with peoples in foreign countries. This in a sense represents a new departure. Nothing like it happened in the last war.

Mr. McKeon: The importance of that adult education I think

is particularly worth emphasizing. There is connected with thes guides the spreading of information beyond the school ages amon the people who are now in their mature years.

MR. PRESCOTT: In that connection we have to recall that all o the people within Germany have had a great deal of informatio withheld from them—information which they will need.

MR. MCKEON: Information is one thing, but the second thin that we ought to emphasize is the content. The institution that w set up, or even the kinds of information that we make available would constitute only an unimportant part unless we could, withi the institution, set up a kind of education with a theory and enthu siasm about democracy, a rational understanding of the past, an a possible utilization of democracy. This would involve a numbe of problems, of which not the least important is learning how t live together.

MR. PRESCOTT: I would like to re-emphasize that. As I said be fore, students and children learn from their teachers—from wha their teachers are and the way their teachers feel even more im portantly than they learn from the way their teachers act. The also learn from the ways in which the school is organized an operated.

MR. HARTSHORNE: Yes. Until society works in terms of the ac tual average individual young German, there is no point in talkin about introducing new educational ideals. If you can't eat, if yo can't work, educational ideals mean little.

MR. MCKEON: We've agreed upon the importance of the im mediate discussion of the problems of education, and we've agree that re-education is possible.

More time would be necessary to go into the specific details of how that education should be set up. An international institution will be an important framework in the ultimate solution, but the framework alone is not sufficient. Those educators who talk about education today have limited themselves to immediate military objectives, such as training people in meteorology, in the techniques of the sciences, or in the rare languages that might be studied. We must, in addition, understand the problem in terms of the problems of living together in a single world and of understanding the principles and the traditions of a democratic form of government. In that process we must learn ourselves—we must learn what other peoples mean.

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What Do *You* Think?

1. Do you think that the United Nations should insist, as Vice-President Wallace has suggested, upon supervision or at least inspection of Germany's educational system? What are the possible conflicts in educational policy between Russia, Britain, and the United States that would serve as obstacles to such a program? How much force, if any, would you support in carrying out the re-education of Germany? Discuss.

2. Analyze the educational tradition of Germany. What is the educational philosophy of the Nazis? Is Nazi education an intensification or a break with German educational tradition? Would you agree that Nazi education has resulted in a destruction of personal responsibility?

3. Must international planning for a free world include in its program provision for general popular education? Does a world government conducted by the consent of the governed imply a system of world education? In a free world of equals, must all men and all nations be educated? Discuss.

4. Should an International Institute of Education be established? What should its functions be? Advisory or supervisory? Should such an organization arrange for exchange of students and teachers between different countries? What should be the aims of the education that it presents?

5. Do you think that defeat will teach the German people more than any United Nations' educational program? Do you believe that the re-education of the Nazis is possible? Do you favor leaving educational reform to the supervision of the individual occupying forces of the United Nations, or should educational planning be done on an international level?

More on This Topic

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The People Say....

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "The Farmer and Victory," broadcast February 7, 1943.*

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Talk Is Cheap

.... It is my opinion that all of those [speakers] couldn't even milk a cow and wouldn't know a heifer from a steer if they were to bawl in their faces. Anybody can talk about farms, but it still takes a farmer to run a farm, and two hogs to make future pork chops, and they don't care anything about it either. If you don't believe it, take a trip and talk to the farmers and see for yourself. My wife is a daughter of a farmer who really farmed, and you folks should hear her laugh while listening to your program. It takes more than talk and education to run a farm. Plenty of backbone and guts, not talk, runs a farm. As my "old Dad" used to say, "Talk is cheap, but it takes money to buy hogs or pork chops with."—*A listener from Peoria, Illinois*

*

What about Cotton By-Products?

.... Living in the South, I am interested in your discussion of farm and ranch problems. Naturally, cotton occupies an important part.

When you discuss cotton should you not have someone who knows cotton and its significance in connection with our war effort? Surplus cotton was mentioned, but what about cotton seed and its many by-products? Cotton-seed meal and cake are very important in connection with meat production, to say nothing at all of oil we get from cotton seed. Yet, now, in these days of gas and rubber rationing, feeders cannot get more than five sacks of meal or cake at a time, necessitating as many as four trips to our mills for a ton of feed. Even at the cost of huge surpluses of lint, should not cotton be produced for the cotton seed and its by-products in order to expedite meat, dairy, and poultry production? .... —*A listener from Avoca, Texas*

*

Golden Opportunity Lost

.... To solve the farmer's problem after he has been stripped of his experienced help and his tires, and is gas rationed, no chance of repairing his farm machinery, his problem will require the wisdom of more than one Solomon. Discussing this subject *now* reminds one of the barn door being

locked after the horse is stolen. In other words, it is a golden opportunity lost forever.—*A listener from New York, New York*

*

Simple Solution

You are rendering a noble service to our country, but today your subject was *more simple than your thinking*—hence you overshot practical conclusions.

Millions of smaller farmers would produce the increased foods required *IF*

1. They could get farm help and pay for it
2. They could get seeds at reasonable prices
3. They could get feeds at reasonable prices
4. They could get fertilizers at reasonable prices
5. They could get tools and parts at reasonable prices
6. They could get fence materials and other supplies

Let the government make these available quickly—or forget the whole subject—*forget* parity, loans, premiums, and above all interference with farm management. Just say what is needed, and the farmers will do the job. I refer to the smaller farmers, but they are very important in the aggregate.—*A listener from Atlanta, Georgia*

*

Increase Military Effectiveness

. . . . I was particularly interested in the comments of the economist from Iowa State College, Mr. Schultz. His remarks on the farm program and its relation to the war effort were the most common sense I've heard expressed. To follow the program he suggests would not only increase our military effectiveness but would also ease some of the inflationary strains—and after all that's all part and parcel of the same problem. . . . .—*A listener from Charleston, Illinois*

*

Cotton Belt Protest

. . . . I have spent many pleasant Sunday afternoons listening to the ROUND TABLE discussions. I was not in agreement on many of the subjects discussed but did not consider the subject of enough importance to register an objection. However, when you talk about cotton you are talking about a product from which 11 per cent of the population of the United States derive a living. We realize that our earnings have been low per capita and that our product has been kicked about by the Department of Agriculture and other powers, but we are unwilling to be called unpatriotic or let our product be called nonessential without protest.

The people of the Cotton Belt will voluntarily contribute as much to the winning of the war in manpower, fibers, oil, and protein as any other section will under governmental order.—*A listener from Shelby, Mississippi*

*

Farmers Are on War Basis

. . . . The farmers are on a *war basis* of production. However, with par-

ity prices of three decades ago we have received no incentive for increased production. Through the A.A.A. farmers are rotating crops and putting emphasis on livestock production. The modern farmer of today has a highly mechanized farm, and his sons are college graduates. The hired man has had to be dispensed with in many cases in order to maintain our high standard of living which includes gas, electricity, running water, automobile, radio, etc.

The intimation that you would send a land army in here from the cotton lands or less productive farms would bring about such a revolution as Hitler has been praying for—providing he has considered praying.—*A listener from Peck, Kansas*

*

Manpower Problem Serious

In listening to your discussion on manpower for agriculture, it appears to me that this problem is serious. From my observation, the hoarding of manpower in the industries is the greatest drawback for the full utilization of our manpower which is so essential in winning the war. Surely the feeding of all our people and helping to feed our Allies is as truly a war weapon as are tanks, guns, etc. . . . .—*A listener from Bremerton, Washington*

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235. *The Rubber Crisis*
236. *Farm Parity*
237. *Congress and the War*
238. *Your Taxes*
239. *The Rediscovery of America*
240. *The Press*
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245. *The Challenge to Local Government*
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247. *Italy*
248. *Social Security: Challenge to Democracy*
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250. *Things To Come: How Science May Shape the Next Twenty-five Years*
251. *1943—Challenge to the Republican Party*
252. *Are We Well Informed?*
253. *Behind the Labor Crisis*
254. *American Foreign Policy: Principle versus Expediency*
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2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
			Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590

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A University of Chicago Round Table Broadcast

FEBRUARY 21, 1943

Russia as an Ally in War and Peace

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REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Department of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary

WALTER DURANTY, Correspondent, *New York Times*

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, Department of History, University of Chicago

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

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NIEBUHR, REINHOLD, "Russia and the West," *Nation*, January 16 and 23, 1943.

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[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]